1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

(*anta*), deer, pig, and agouti (*cutia*), so that today the jungle is very poor in these species. An almost equal devastation was suffered by the chelonians, especially the great turtle (*Emys amazonica*). There are still great quantities of fish, which provide the principal food of the population. The *piracemas*, or shoals of fish which swim upstream to spawn, assume fantastic proportions. The *pirarucú* of the Solimões is an important article of export.

The insect pests, not so noticeable along the banks of the Solimões itself, transform the igarapés of the Tukuna into veritable infernos, since they desist neither in the daytime nor at night, nor at any season of the year. The worst persecutors of man are the gnats (*carapanãs*), the mosquitoes (*maruins*), and the gadflies (*mutucas*).

History

The Tukuna tribe has not been prominent in the history of the Amazon region. It is first mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña, the historian of the expedition of Pedro Teixeira from Belém to Quito in 1639. Acuña cites the "Tocunas" as being enemies of the Omáguas of the northern bank of the Solimões. Laureano de la Cruz mentions the Tukuna, whom he calls "Jaunas,"[1] at the time of his journey in 1649, as inhabiting the north bank of the Amazon, above the Putumayo. Heriarte in 1662 does not refer to the Tukuna by name but mentions the fights that the Omágua had with the tribes of the "solid ground" (*terra firme*).

In 1645 the Spanish Jesuits began to catechize these Omágua, and as early as 1650 the first smallpox epidemic caused the tribe heavy casualties. The upper Solimões was transformed into a battleground between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, the latter establishing their missions from the lower river up to the present Teffé, the former extending the slave hunts, under the name *tropas de resgate*, "ransom troops," to the upper river.

A series of skirmishes, battles, and retreats by each side took place, especially from 1708 to 1710. In 1732 a Portuguese flotilla ascended the Solimões and the Napo to establish a fort at the mouth of the Aguarico (75° W. long.), which Portugal claimed as its western boundary, but it was impeded in this task by the resistance offered by the missions. In 1766 the Portuguese occupied the mouth of the Içá, and in 1776 they founded the post of Tabatinga.

The result of all this was the disappearance of the Omágua from the islands of the Solimões, while the Tukuna in their jungle centers probably suffered very little. Some Omágua took refuge on the upper river; two Omágua villages persisted for some time on the Solimões, but to maintain them it became necessary to repopulate the villages with Indians of other tribes, among them the Tukuna, who during this period were taken to São Paulo de Olivença, Tonantina, Fonte Bôa, and even to Teffé.

Since they no longer had to fear the Omágua, and since the Mayoruna, their enemies on the right bank of the river, were also weakening rapidly, the Tukuna spread out more and more along the banks and islands of the Solimões to the Auatíparaná, which connects it with the Japurá.

[1] Presumably *J* equals *T*, *s* equals *ss*, in the original manuscript written in 1653 (in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emigrate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz) on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatí-paraná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle with them. The cultural influence of the Kokáma on the Tukuna has been practically nil.

From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu"; however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian recruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused havoc in the tribe.

In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete ruin.

In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

Scientific Exploration

Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebrations, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate information, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

* Serviço de Proteção aos Indios.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

different colors, for which he and dyəi' went out to search in a claybank at the headwaters of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo; it is in this paint that the taboo of the tɔ'/k] is especially concentrated. The legend of tɔɔ'ẽna reflects the implacable punishment by dyəi' of a transgressor. The following is a literal translation from the original Tukuna text.

dyəi' was making ready his feast. He made the uariciána rise. Then tɔɔ'ẽna wished to see the uariciána of dyəi'. With her sister she went round them to the front. She climbed up [a tree] in front while her sister hid to one side of the path. They came beneath her with the uariciánas. She suddenly became frightened at a painting of herself. She asked them: "Oh, grandfather, where didst thou kill thy alligator?" [By now hallucinated because of the uariciána painting, she thought she saw an alligator.] She urinated much and, pa'!, fell. Then they took advantage of the situation, to kill her. Later, they returned after having killed tɔɔ'ẽna. They cut her into quarters in the place of the uariciánas on the banks of the ə'varö [a small tributary on the right bank of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, a little below the place where dyəi' dwelt], and that is why the ə'varö is the color of blood, because they quartered tɔɔ'ẽna there. Afterward they smoked her flesh.

At midnight the uariciána sounded again. They brought the mush [made of tɔɔ'ẽna's flesh] to the feast. dyəi' summoned everyone, including her mother and sister. dyəi' painted the hollows beneath their eyes with soot from cooking vessels, in order to kill them if they smeared the soot by weeping. Then dyəi' called her soul [through the uariciána]:

"The piston flutes [that is, the players who go before the uariciánas] have already slain me, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst leave me for a while, the beads about my waist did move before thee, oh, Mother! In the time when I was alive, oh, Mother, when thou didst send me to the spring, my hair waved before thee, oh, Mother! Yonder on the spit of land tawegi'ne [name of dyəi''s house] my flesh is smoked, oh Mother!"

In the journal of Padre Samuel Fritz there is a report on the use, in 1691, of the uariciána, probably the bu'/bu, among the Yurimagua of the now extinct village of Nossa Senhora das Neves (which was on an island of the Solimões near the present Fonte Bôa).

What I unearthed was unusual in this Yurimagua village; they were celebrating a feast when, from the hut where I lay, I heard the playing of a flute which caused me such a fright that I could not suffer its sound; I ordered them to cease blowing, and inquired what it was; to which they answered that in this manner they signaled and called to Guaricana,[11] who was the Devil, and who since the times of their forefathers came and attended their villages visibly, and for whom they always made a house away from the village in the forest, and there they brought him drink and the ill for him to cure. I went on to ask with what visage the figure appeared. The *curaca*[12] named Mativa answered me: "Father, I cannot explain it, I know only that it is horrible, and when it comes all the women and children flee, only the brave remain, and then the Devil takes a lash, which we have prepared from a strip of leather from the sea cow, and he whips us on the breast until much blood is drawn. In the absence of the Devil, the whipper was an old man from whom we received great scars on our breasts. This is done, it is said, to make us valiant. The form that he used to take was that of a tiger, pig, and other animals; sometimes he became a giant, at other times a dwarf."

I asked further if he had said anything about me to them, or whether he would kill me, but they said that the words were not clear, "and since thou didst come," said the *curaca*, "the first time that thou didst plant the Cross, he does not wish to come any more to the village, or to cure any more the sick which some carry to his house; for this purpose we now bring them to you, so that they may receive the Gospel and not die."

[11] "Guarieuya" in the Evora MS.

[12] In Peru, a native chief who receives his authority from the whites, i.e., a cacique; in Brazil he is called a *tuixáua*.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

000 hundred men. A similar remark applies to the Mayorunas, whose territory stretches for ninety miles along the river Ucayali, and nearly two hundred miles along the Amazon, and yet their population scarcely attains to five hundred individuals.

On leaving the village of Mahucayaté we continued along the right bank, and visited, one after another, the places connected with the mission of Pevas. The page that I had devoted to them, and had calculated on filling, retained its virgin whiteness. At Pérubuaté, as at Moromoroté, I saw nothing but houses shut up, and red or black fowls foraging about in the scrub.

VILLAGE OF MOROMOROTÉ, ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE AMAZON.

133 About three miles from Moromoroté a canal, supplied with water by the river, invited us to turn from our course. After rowing for a few moments we floated with its current into a lake of black water, where also debouched, after uniting into a single stream, two little rivers coming from the interior. This lake, which bears the Spanish and Quichua names of Caballo-Cocha (Horse-lake), an etymology unexplained rather than inexplicable, is some fifteen miles in circumference, and in form an almost regular oval. Its brown surface, encircled with slopes of yellow ochre and stunted vegetation, exhibits a singular appearance when the traveller approaches it, as we did, at the hour when the day has ended and the night not yet commenced.

136 797 The singular abundance of fish in this lake—let it not displease the illustrious and learned Humboldt—the absolute freedom of its shores from mosquitoes, the indescribable calm and collectedness which one breathes with the very air, and which disposes the mind to reverie or prayer—all these advantages combined have given the missionaries of Pevas the idea of founding a village mission on its banks. A Franciscan monk, 797 come from Pevas with this object in view, has collected there several families of Ticuna Indians previously catechised, and has taken up his residence in their midst. At the period of my visit this village, although it had already been established three years,

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

●797 contained no more than eight finished houses; the others, not having got beyond the first rough sketch, presented nothing to the disappointed beholder but their rudimentary posts.

The spiritual head of Caballo-Cocha was a man of about thirty years of age, with a white skin, brown hair, and the make of a carabineer. He habitually tucked up the sleeves of his gown as far as his elbows, whilst the tail of the garment was tucked

VILLAGE OF PÉRUMATÉ, ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE AMAZON.

into his belt. The moment our égaritéa reached the shore he appeared on the bank, and began to question my men in a style that I thought the reverse of civil. As I slipped out of the pamacari to put an end to this cross-examination, the monk perceiving me, changed a little the tone of his voice, and, with a slight salute, offered me the hospitality of his roof. I accepted his offer and followed him into his dwelling, with a full understanding that my visit was far from enrapturing him. Perhaps I had interrupted his prayers, or interfered with his arrangements for the evening.

In the course of the supper to which he invited me I entertained him with an account of my stay at Pevas, and of my journey to Santa Maria with his superior, Father Manuel Rosas. These matters, which I thought would possess some interest for him, plunged him into an icy reserve. My efforts being thus repulsed I affected an appearance of fatigue, and retired to the room which had been accorded me.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

Next morning, at daybreak, I sallied forth to examine the banks of the Caballo-Cocha. Amongst the beautiful vegetation I found two varieties of croton, a *Carolinea* with sulphur-yellow flowers, and that species of cinnamon-laurel which, on account of the citron-like scent of the leaves and the cinnamon odour of the bark, has obtained in Brazil the name of *canelon*. At this early hour the living creatures which inhabited the waters of the lake crowded to the surface to salute the dawn of light; the young fry leaped joyfully. The *surubis* opened their valve-like mouths, the *maïus* exhibited their glistening rose-coloured scales, the dolphins threw water up from their snouts, the lamantins snorted loudly, and the caymans, hidden in the moist vegetation, yawned amorously at the sun, or snapped together their formidable jaws in honour of that luminary.

After sounding the lake and finding that its black waters had a depth of three fathoms, with a bottom, here of clean sand and there of mud, I returned to the mission to take leave of my host. I found him at the door of his house. The reflection which comes with night had favourably influenced the humour of this individual. He almost smiled whilst announcing that breakfast would soon be ready. I thanked him for this forethought, but announced my immediate departure.

"You will not leave without breakfast!" exclaimed he.

"I shall leave without breakfast," I answered.

The astonishment which this announcement caused him was more than a sufficient revenge for the petty annoyance he had caused me, so I added, in order to lessen the shock which my determination seemed to give:

"I have to make my way along the river, and shall not breakfast before reaching Loreto."

On fetching my mosquito-curtain from the room in which I had slept I found two little Ticuna girls in the posture of suppliants. An unhappy shout of laughter which they had been unable to repress during prayers had drawn upon them the punishment of kneeling and gazing, for twelve hours, at the corner of the wall. At the time I entered, the bigger of the two, wearied with counting the bits of straw in the plaster-wall, had closed her eyes, and, squatting down on her heels, slept peacefully. I obtained a pardon for these little girls, who flew from the room with a cry of joy like birds set at liberty.

At the mouth of the channel which connects the lake of Caballo-Cocha with the Amazon my boatmen crossed the river diagonally, in order to reach the village of Loreto, about twelve miles distant. We arrived there about eleven o'clock.

Loreto is the last Peruvian possession which the traveller finds in the eastern part of the river. It has existed thirty-three years. The land on which it is situated, half-ochre half-clay, presents a series of little rounded, juxtaposed elevations, lying in a direction from the south-east to the north-west, and resembling the swellings which are thrown up by active volcanoes. On these little hills, intersected by ravines, are situated sixteen thatched huts, sufficiently detached to prevent the inhabitants from conversing together, even at the top of their voices.

This mournful place, Peruvian by right but Brazilian in point of fact, is inhabited

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

000 by Portuguese merchants, who are occupied with a very restricted trade in sarsaparilla, cotton goods, and salt-fish. If there is little to divert the residents there, at all events [136] mosquitoes are very common, and the chique or *pulex penetrans* abounds; whilst the first feed on your blood, the second, like troglodytes, excavate little caverns and holes beneath the toes, where they increase and multiply, perfectly indifferent to the violent itching which you suffer from their filthy presence.

● 797 The Loreto factory, in which I lived some days, would not have furnished me much information concerning the original Loreto mission, except for the excursion I made in the company of a very young Portuguese with whom I temporarily shared the dwelling.

[291]

PENANCE IMPOSED ON TWO YOUNG GIRLS.

The égaritéa which had brought me to Loreto had left for Nauta, and it was in a sort of canoe that we ascended the river as far as the Quebrada of Atacoari, where my young man had some business to transact. It was in the interior of this gorge, whence flows a river of black water, that in 1710 the Equatorian Jesuits had founded, under the patronage of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, the first mission of this name, of which there no longer remain any traces. The grandchildren of the converts, Indians of the [131] Ticuna race, now dwell in a state of nature on both banks of the Atacoari.

133 The narrow and winding entrance to the quebrada is invaded by the Amazon, whose white waters extend to the distance of a mile and a half inland. Pendant branches and vines, stretching across from one bank to the other, give the outline on the blue sky of those festoons and streamers of which the author of *Lutris* speaks. At the time we ascended, the river, which had been overflowing since the evening, had already covered the banks and their bushes. Little trees, of which the trunks had disappeared, still displayed their leafy tops, and seemed to protest against the inundation.

After a zigzag progress for an hour amid the submerged vegetation, of which our